FRANCES ANNE HOPKINS AND THE GEORGE BACK CONNECTION: TRACKING THROUGH THE CANADIAN LANDSCAPES OF TWO NINETEENTH-CENTURY ARTISTS TO FIND WHERE LINES CONVERGE.

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A

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By

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Abstract

My paper examines the artistic influence of the renowned British explorer and artist George Back on fellow Rupert's Land artist Frances Anne Hopkins, wife of Edward Hopkins, the man in charge of the Montreal Division of the Hudson's Bay Company in the mid-nineteenth century. The aesthetic gap between the two artists is wide in that Back's sketches depict a kind of terrifying wasteland quality best described as sublime. Hopkins' Canadian landscapes are colorful, on the other hand, and show people who are at ease with their surroundings.

Other notable artists also documented nineteenth-century Canadian landscapes in visual images and may have had an indirect influence on Hopkins. I suggest, however, a more direct link may be made between the artists beyond the similarities drawn out of their sublime and beautiful images. My study proposes to show that influence may exist based on Hopkins' father and his Admiralty connection to Back. After a discussion on the important historical aspects coloring the artists' work, I will clarify the Hopkins family-tie relationship to Back, followed by a discussion of their art and potential evidence of influence.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I want to thank the Northern Studies Department at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks for allowing me the opportunity to pursue my interest in this particular area of history. Although I grew up in a region steeped in Indian and fur trade history, it was not until Kesler Woodward's Images of the North class that I began to look more closely at artists' impressions of that era. The work of Frances Anne Hopkins, a nineteenth-century artist and a fur-trade-company wife, initially grabbed my attention. I found particularly interesting her use of the intricately drawn birch-bark canoe as a central figure in her work.

This project has taken me to four conferences on the Canadian Fur trade. At three of these events, I presented papers discussing artists' rendering of the trade. The first conference I attended was the 1996 Rupert's Land Colloquium in Vancouver, Washington, where I gave my first paper on Frances Hopkins. The second, where I did not present a paper, was in Whitehorse, Yukon Territories. I was also fortunate to attend the 1998 Rupert's Land Colloquium in Winnipeg. For those who could participate, the last part of the conference was held in an historic fur trade location, Norway House, on the north end of Lake Winnepeg. In 2002, Dr. Laura Peers, director of Pitt River Museum, Oxford, UK, selected Edward Hopkins, Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor of the Montreal Division and husband of Frances Anne Hopkins, for a special segment at that year's colloquium to be held at Oxford. I submitted a paper proposal and it

was accepted. Pursuing my interest in this area of history has taken me across Canada and the Atlantic; it has turned into an adventuresome journey.

I want to extend a great debt of gratitude to all my committee members. Some have since retired but you all helped bring me to this point. They are: Kesler Woodward, Dr. Marvin Falk, Dr. William Schneider, Dr. Patricia Kwachka and my current chair, Dr. Mary Goodwin. Thanks for allowing me the opportunity to become absorbed in such rich northern history

I wish to also thank my family members and friends who have encouraged me, often in unique ways, to get it done. Thanks Ram (Roger) MacDonald, Mary MacDonald, and Ronald Hammarstrom. Mary's canoe T- shirt was especially very subtle.

Finally, my trek down this road would not have happened without the inspiration of four Indian women, all now passed. For mom, Marjorie, who will always be a proud, beautiful Indian Princess in my mind's eye, my gratitude for sending me and my siblings on those trips I hated (because we had to leave you and friends for a while) to help "Auntie" with her souvenir stand on the Grand Portage Indian reservation. Ojibwa, her first language, is the language most adults spoke there with her. This is where the miniature bark canoes have the clearest place in my early memory. To Barb, my half-sister-second mom, for her willingness to share her books on art and interest in history with a 12-year-old kid emotionally bankrupted by a family torn apart from the ravages of

alcohol. To Susan Anderson, granddaughter of Teddy Charlie, who carried on the art of making miniature bark canoes as part of the Athabascan Indian tradition passed down to her. Running into her always reawakened my awareness of the significance of bark canoes.

I will miss them all forever. But embracing the canoe as this paper has allowed me to do made them proud, I believe, and me happy.

Introduction

My paper examines the artistic influence of British Admiralty officer and fellow artist of the Canadian landscape, George Back (fig. 1) on the work of Frances Anne Hopkins (fig. 2), wife of Edward Hopkins (Hudson's Bay Company chief factor in charge of the Montreal Department). Following a discussion of important historical aspects, I will highlight the connection between Hopkins' father, Frederick William Beechey, and Back, focusing on the significant experiences they shared while serving in the Royal Navy during the early nineteenth century. Then, to show potential influence, I will examine the art of Hopkins and Back to demonstrate where Back's work may have affected Hopkins' paintings.

Both Back and Hopkins spent some time in the 1800s traveling in Canada by canoe, they both used the bark canoe in their landscape paintings, and Beechey played an important role in their lives. Hopkins and her husband, Edward, lived in Canada from 1858 until their departure for England in 1870. Back's Admiralty missions into Northern Canada in the first three decades of the nineteenth century kept him there for several years at a time. Both artists used the bark canoe as a common image in their Canadian landscapes. This study suggests a connection between the bark canoe art of Back and Hopkins woven together by a common thread, Frederick William Beechey.

One art critic, Robert Stacey, writes on a Back/Hopkins connection in his Notes in Frances Hopkins, 1838-1919. Stacey says:

> Back, in particular, anticipates Hopkins, not only in his watercolours but in his written descriptions. He was susceptible, for instance, to the same kind of subject matters as Hopkins experimented with in her tenebristic night scene, Canoe Party around a Campfire [fig. 3],with its description of voyageurs repairing a freighter by torchlight, and Voyageurs at Dawn, 1871 [fig. 4] . . . .Back made a verbal-sketch of a campsite on an island off Lake Superior's Cape Garganua. (Clark 65)

Many other visitors to Canada have also painted the canoe. One such person is Englishman Henry Warre, a military man and artist on a secret mission to document American activities in Oregan territory in the 1840s. In order to get to that area, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) granted him permission to travel with the fur trade across Canada. A year later another artist, Canadian Paul Kane, would also be granted the same pass and travel essentially the same terrain as Warre. Both artists painted what they saw of the landscape and in many of their works we see the large freight canoe as a central figure. While other artists such as Warre and Kane also show us the canoe on lakes, streams, and land, Back and Hopkins are connected by their common depiction of the canoe on an expansive body of water. In Back's Moore's Bay, Polar

Sea (Midnight View), 1821, (fig. 5) and in Hopkins' Canoes in a Fog, Lake Superior,1869 (fig. 6), his canoe is on the Arctic Ocean and her canoe is on the largest of the Great Lakes. The practice of one canoe following another, marking the trail for the follower, must have been an important way to travel in a large body of water that was prone to a foggy atmosphere. It is another example of an image that both Back and Hopkins used. Hopkins' Canoes in a Fog, 1869, is similar to Back's North Shore of Great Slave Lake, 1833 (fig. 7), in that the artists' canoes are travelling away in a line formation.

A significant difference between the artists is their motivation for painting the Canadian landscape. As midshipman on Sir John Franklin's first overland expedition to the Arctic in 1819, Back painted in response to Admiralty instructions; it was his duty to record what he saw, along with fellow midshipman Robert Hood. Back was made lieutenant following this, and on Franklin's second expedition, Back's responsibilities expanded beyond his previous duties, although he did sketch as well.

In 1833, Back was made commander of his own overland expedition into the barren grounds of Canada, initially to find the lost expedition of John Ross, and then later, after it had been located, to explore more of the unmapped regions of the Arctic. One of the key figures responsible for securing Back this mission, as will be discussed later, was Frederick William Beechey (fig. 8), a British officer who had been involved in two previous missions with Back. Beechey is Frances Hopkins' father.

Hopkins' motivation for painting, a generation after Back, appears to have been personal posterity and muse, rather than responsibility to command or country. There is speculation about how much firsthand experience she had in the landscape she painted. Evidence cited by Janet Clark and Robert Stacey, in Frances Hopkins, (1990) indicates that, between 1858 and 1870, she traveled to many of the places she sketched with her husband, Edward, on his Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) tour of duty inspections as chief factor of the Montreal District.

In 1869, Hopkins' first oil painting, Canoes in a Fog, was accepted for exhibition in the Royal Academy at the Burlington Home Galleries in London. By 1870, "in response to changing political and economic circumstances, . . . the company relinquished all rights of government and the monopoly of trading in Rupert's Land and trading rights in Canada, and other parts of British North America" (Ruggles 260). Edward's responsibility to the company changed then too and he and Frances returned to England that year. By her death on March 5, 1919, Hopkins had exhibited thirteen times with work created primarily from the memory of her twelve years in Canada.

Only a few decades separate Back and Hopkins in Rupert's Land ("Rupert's Land" was intended to honor Prince Rupert, a principal early committee member of the HBC. The name was used to encompass the fur trade area[1]). Yet Back's and Hopkins' experiences,

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[1] The fur trade area known as Rupert's land encompassed the Canadian subarctic (the area around the arctic circle), the northern continental coastal area, and the American North West territory. The HBC regularly brought furs "from York Factory which were destined for Russians on the upper northwest coast of the Pacific; the company's annual

as expressed in their paintings, were in many ways vastly different. Change happened quickly over those years. While movement out of the more sublime state, as expressed by Back, to Hopkins' beautiful, safe settings is solidly observable, there are important similarities that suggest a direct influence.

While my paper suggests the possible effects Back's drawings may have had on Hopkins' art, an introduction to what I will term primary colors (my invention for this purpose) is in order first. By primary colors I mean the canoe, the fur trade, and the British Admiralty in Canada. In order to emphasize the canoe's significance to the other colors and the art of Hopkins' and Back, a description on building a bark canoe will introduce the first chapter's "color" divisions. By the time the reader is fully introduced to the canoe, the fur trade and the admiralty, an image of the creation of a bark canoe will be clear as well.

Fortunately, several sources are available that describe the creation of the bark canoe. Selections range from Edward Tappan Adney's 1890's description based on an east coast tribe, the Malachites, to the most typical canoe, the Ojibwa birchbark canoe, from the Great Lakes regions and beyond to the extreme northwest and the Athabaska bark canoe. Such a canoe as this is described in a story by Teddy Charlie in his book Long After I Am Gone (1992).

I will use statements on the creation of a canoe from the journal of Robert Hood, midshipman, along with Back, on Franklin's

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rental for trading rights in the lands owned by the Russians in that region" (Harper 19).

first overland arctic expedition, 1819-1821. Hood's canoe touches on all the primary colors involved in Back and Hopkins' landscapes. He was an Admiralty officer, and the canoe he describes was influenced by the fur trade. At Cumberland House on the Saskatchewan River, where the expedition spent their first winter, Hood witnessed a canoe being built. Construction was based on the information passed on from a company officer several years earlier. Hood's canoe description was influenced by Robert Longmoor, the first Hudson's Bay Compay man to learn the craft and pass it on.

In 1776-77, Longmoor mastered the craft of canoe building after the company became aware of the North West Company's expertise at making and handling canoes. That company acquired the skilled employees and necessary facilities used by the French canoe factories[2]. The HBC decided to go inland after the fur as their rival company was doing. Therefore they encouraged their men to learn about the best mode of transportation: canoes. Longmoor built several while he was stationed at Cumberland House.

In 1819, during the first year, Hood and some other members of Franklin's Expedition wintered at Cumberland House. Life was relatively peaceful then, in contrast to the last years of the journey, when devastating events changed the fate of the mission. This early positive experience is reflected in Hood's journal writings and picturesque views of the landscape. As the expedition forged on, however, Hood was shot and killed under strange circumstances,

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[2] By the late seventeen hundreds, the French had been forced to relinquish their hold in Canada, which they called New France, after losing a final conflict with the British.

becoming one of the fatal tragedies of this mission. The expedition had journeyed to Rupert's Land just before the combining of the two fur companies, when fighting for supplies, territory, and furs was a constant state of affairs. All members of Franklin's party nearly starved to death the following winter from inadequate provisioning: a direct result of the rivalry.

Hood and Back were both midshipmen and duty called on them to be the topographical draughtsmen for the mission. This entailed keeping detailed records of their journey as well as sketching what they saw. In 1974, C. Stuart Houston published Hood's journal and paintings in To the Arctic By Canoe. This book includes Hood's description of the construction of a canoe. I have used Hood's literary re-creation of a bark canoe to precede the chapter sections of primary colors used in both Hopkins' and Back's art: the canoe, the fur trade and the Admiralty.

Chapter 1

Primary Colors For Hopkins' and Back's Canvas: The Canoe, the Fur Trade and the Admiralty in Canada

Cumberland House 1819

Preparations were busily made for the embarkation of the furs which had been collected, by pressing them into packs of 90 Tlb.[3] *People were employed to build canoes and as these are the only vessels now used to the northward of Cumberland house, they deserve particular description. They are constructed of birch bark, which is stripped from the tree in April, by making a fire round it or by cutting down and hewing logs of the length required for the bark. A canoe house* [4] *is erected, open at the sides, and floored, or crossed by several timbers. Pieces of bark are sewed together with the root of the pine (spruce), of sufficient length to form the bottom, and upon it is laid a frame, pointed at each extremity, and pressed down by posts introduced between it and the beams of the house.*

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[3] Tlb. refers to the measurement troy weight, which is a system of weights, usually for precious metals.

[4] The editor of Hood's Journal, C. Stuart Houston says that Robert Longmoor, who lived at Cumberland House in 1776 and 1777, may have invented the first structure to build a canoe, which Hood calls a canoe house. Houston implies that Longmoor added another step to the traditional manner of building.

Yet Hood's description of the building of a birch bark canoe is based on Longmoor's pattern, which, in turn, is based on the traditional Indian pattern. In my opinion, Longmoor or Hood's invention is merely the term, "canoe house," which refers to the skeletal structure, or frame, of the canoe. By calling this part of the canoe construction a house, Longoor or Hood is describing what the canoe will be used for by travellers once the bark is sewn on; it will be home for them over long distances and extended periods of time.

Other pieces are attached on each side to the first, and the sides being kept together by stakes, the canoe is cut out while thus doubled so that they are exactly similar. The ends are curves including about two thirds of a circle, and the middle rises in proportion to the breadth intended for the canoe. The sides are then separated and wooden gunwales, one and a one-half inches square, pierced to receive the timbers, are strongly sewed to them. (Houston, 64-65)

[From the Journal of Robert Hood, Midshipman with Franklin]

1.1 The Canoe

"Over much of the north there is scarcely a major lake or river whose earliest white visitor did not first view it over the gunwale of a canoe" (Adney 2).

The bark canoes of the North American Indians were among the "most highly developed, manually propelled primitive water craft, built with stone age materials" (Adney 3). The most comprehensive study of this lightweight water vessel is the result of the life's work of one man, Edward Tappan Adney. Adney was born in Athens, Ohio, in 1868, and pursued an art career in a three year program at the Art Student's League of New York. In 1887 he took a short vacation to Woodstock, New Brunswick, where he was introduced to Peter Joe, an American Indian from the tribe called Malachite. Joe inspired Adney to record the woodsman in outdoor scenes. Adney also came to learn the handicrafts of Indian life. In 1889, he and Peter Joe built a birch bark canoe. Adney documented every step

they made. In 1890, Harper's Young People Magazine published what Adney had written and it is believed that this is the first documentation of the description of a bark canoe with instructions for building it.

Adney covered the Klondike gold rush as an artist and correspondent for Harper's Weekly and London Chronicle. Later he wrote a book on this subject He also covered the Nome, Alaska, gold rush in 1900. He kept the study of birch bark canoes as a hobby through the years, in addition to the study of Native American culture and languages. He settled in Montreal and became a citizen of Canada and an honorary consultant on Indian studies to McGill University. Eventually his hobby led him to construct models of the various kinds of canoes.

After Adney's wife became ill, they moved back to New York to be by her family. While he did not organize his papers before his death in 1950, he had given over a hundred of his models and a portion of his papers to the director of the Mariners Museum in Newport News, Virginia. Later, his son, Glen Adney, placed the remaining papers dealing with bark canoes into the museum, thus completing the "Adney Collection" (Adney 4). From these papers, Howard Chappelle managed the somewhat daunting task of organizing the material into the book The Bark Canoes and Skin Boats of North America (1983). He and Adney are credited as the writers.

The canoe is important to my research because its image is documented by the two primary figures in my paper. George Back

was an officer on Franklin's overland expeditions, which used the canoe as a critical mode of transportation. On the first expedition, particularly, Back and Robert Hood were hired as midshipmen who were responsible to sketch the Canadian landscape and Arctic region, as previously mentioned. Since the canoe was their central mode of transportation, it is an important subject in their art.

Frances Hopkins painted the canoe as it impressed her in its critical roll of transporting people and goods for the Hudson's Bay fur trade in the mid-nineteenth century. Following are some of the important canoe details which Chappelle presented to the public through his published work derived from the life long efforts of Adney.

The word canoe appears to have derived from the French word canau, which means canal, and not from North American usage. Since the earliest descriptions of the canoe were similar in detail to the canoe Adney documented, it appears likely that European influence did little to change the design of canoes. As the fur trade got underway, environment and function demanded slight modification. Basically this resulted in the construction of larger canoes. As Chappelle writes, "very early recognition of the speed, fine construction and general adaptability of the bark canoes to wilderness travel. . .sustained the view that the canoe was highly developed" (Adney 13). The fur trade made some modifications to adjust to their need to carry large loads over great bodies of water,

yet, "despite steadily increasing influence of the Europeans" (13), the essence of the canoe's structure stayed the same.

The most well known fur trade canoes were the canots du maitre, also called maitre canots, great canoes, or north canoes. Developed early by the French, the fur trade canoes remained a vital part of the trade well into the end of the nineteenth century. The French first came into contact with the Algonkin form of high ended canoes before they met the Great Lakes Ojibway. They depended on the Indians to bring them canoes until they began their own factory at a place called Trois Riveres. The factory standardized size and model. As the trade moved west, modifications would be made in accordance with the environment and supplies available.

After the English took control, a large number of Iroquois moved to Quebec and were employed by the English as canoe builders and canoemen.

In order to understand why the canoe dominates fur-trade history, it is important to see how the geography of Canada played a part. The navigability by canoe in Canada is related to the fact that "half of its surface lies on the world's oldest land mass, the Precambrian Shield, whose peaks and precipices have in billions of years ground to gentler gradients" (Morse 29). As a result, the large lakes which formed the historic fur trade canoe routes, such as Great Slave, Winnepeg, Superior and Huron, "all have one edge or side in granite" (29). To get to this point, however, the element of time was necessary. "As the rains and ice melts for thousands of years

poured down from the steep edges of the Shield, water courses in softer soil were formed, draining to the sea" (29).

In Canada, three "key lakes serve as hubs or distributing points.. . .[which are also] keys to the extraordinarily flexible system of canoe travel: Lakes Superior, Winnepeg and Athabasca. Each sits only 600-700 feet above sea level and has easy communication with the sea" via the rivers which are connected to them (Morse 29).

To portage a canoe means that the canoe must be carried from one body of water to the next. Generally this means that handlers carry the canoe around a falls too rough to run or track. Tracking means pulling the canoe by rope from the shore while the other passengers walk the bank. Poling, another fur trade term, means moving the canoe by means of a long pole while standing in the canoe similar to a gondola operator on a boat in Venice.

In his book Fur Trade Canoe Routes of Canada / Then and Now, Eric Morse, who canoed avidly in this area, arrived at the conclusion that "game originally made the portages and man merely improved them, where necessary" (Morse 31). He deduced that, since moose and caribou followed the water systems but were unable to go up or down a falls, these animals originated the traditional fur trade portages used by man.

Cumberland House 1819

Frames of thin laths confined to a curve by a piece of wood joining the extremities, are fitted to the stem and stern, and the edges of the bark sewn around them. The inside is rubbed

over with a mixture of pitch and grease, and covered with thin splints placed along the bottom and sides, the frame having been taken out. The timbers, of which there are 60 or 70, made of cedar, are bent by the hand, and the ends inserted into the gunwales; after which they are driven gradually by a mallet into vertical position. The bark is wetted with hot water, and the canoe occasionally lifted by slings from the beams to force out the inequalities of the surface. Nine small bars are fixed to the gunwales across the canoe and the seats for the paddlers are suspended at each end. (Houston 65)

[From the Journal of Robert Hood, Midshipman with Franklin]

1.2 The Fur Trade

The first to land in canoe country were the French, who saw the canoe being used by the Native people and eventually understood its necessity as a vehicle for travel on the extensive waterway system. "Light enough to be carried over any obstacle, the Indians' bark craft was the key that opened to them the vast expanse between the oceans" (Shackleton 167). Sailor Jacques Cartier wrote about what he saw from his voyage along the Newfoundland shore in 1534, observing the use of the canoe (168). The first to recognize the importance of the canoe for travel in North America was Samuel de Champlain. Once he helped establish a colony in Quebec in 1608, he decided it was important to gain friendship with the Indians who could provide a necessary fur harvest. Yet in his "eager[ness] to go exploring in their territory to the north and west,

. . .he went to war along side his Indian allies [the Huron, Algonquin and Montagnois against the Iroquois] and he went in their bark canoes" (Roberts 171).

The fourteen Frenchmen who accompanied Champlain became adept at using the canoe for "the Indians would not have tolerated such a number of non-working passengers" (Shackleton 175). Men such as these are considered the earliest of a type of man called "coureurs de bois. . .a new breed of men to whom adventure and the freedom of life in the forest held more appeal than did living in a tiny settlement under the restraints of a European civilization" (175). Along with becoming expert at handling the canoe, they would also take up the life style and language of the Indian. Over time, blood kinships would be formed, and their descendants who picked up the paddle would be called voyageurs. Their adeptness for handling the canoe would land them an important place in the North West and Hudson's Bay Company fur trades, as well as a place on the historic Admiralty overland expeditions of Sir John Franklin in the early nineteenth century.

The turning point for the French fur trade began as a result of French rejection of two of the most successful fur traders of the seventeenth century. When Pierre Esprit Radisson and Medart Chonart Des Groseilliers were fined and, in the case of Groseilliers, imprisoned for a time for trading without a license, they both became disillusioned by their government's actions. Through their own explorations and discussions with Indians, they became familiar

with the geography of Canada's interior drainage system. They were certain that great profits could be made by sailing into Hudson's Bay and trading for furs at the mouths of the rivers there. Not only did the French ignore the men's suggestion, they charged them with violating trading policy and penalized them. Once Radisson and Groseilliers were free to pedal their idea elsewhere, the pair were soon before the Royal Court in London. In 1667, " the initial eighteen incorporators, or Adventurers, of the Hudson's Bay Company opened their first stock book. . .the Duke of York (later King James II) being the first entry and Prince Rupert the second" (Ruggles 259).

Before receiving their charter, however, the men launched a trading mission using two ships, with Radisson and Groseilliers each aboard one of them. The ship in which Radisson sailed could not complete its mission, but Groseillier's did, and "returned with a cargo of furs whose value was sufficient enough to encourage them to apply for the Royal [Charter of 1670 and] received, among many rights, the monopoly of trade in furs, fish, minerals and other products" (Ruggles 259).

By the eighteenth century, war between the English and French eventually gave way in Britain's favor and the French government was removed from New France. This did not mean that those who were employed in the trade went with the government. The voyageurs, who were of French and Indian descent, stayed and offered their skills at making and manning canoes for the new

traders. Voyageurs' mixed blood heritage resulted from a French trapper living with an Indian woman in the trapping grounds.

In her book, Many Tender Ties (1980), Silvia Van Kirk uses the term "country wife" to refer to the Native women who lived with European fur trade employees for periods of time. Fur trade company employees adopted this practice of mixed country marriages, sometimes with European wives waiting overseas. Governor George Simpson, for example, had "fathered at least five children from four different wives. . .the first of these natural children born in Britain, . . .the rest born in fur trade country (Brown 123). Yet, before marrying his second cousin Frances, and introducing her to Rupert's Land, Simpson was able to find other HBC men to create families with his country wives and children.

The voyageurs were the first descendents of such mixed blood relationships in the fur trade. They would fill a position called servants in the North West company, which took over the French fur trade. The North West and Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) each had a class division in their ranks. As Van Kirk notes of these companies, "they were organized along hierarchical lines, the basic division being between the officers and servants" (Van Kirk 9). The officers in the North West company came from Highland Scottish descent and attained similar position in the trade. Their servants, the voyageurs, could never go higher than chief guide in the company because the officers' clan relationships would not allow outsiders to gain higher positions.

The HBC servants were recruited from the streets of London, orphanages and the Orkney Islands. In contrast to North West company practice, servants moved into high officer positions over time, as the HBC offered more of an opportunity for company employees to move up the social ladder. In 1779, the North West company was incorporated in Montreal from the many individual traders, primarily from Scotland, who attempted to take over trading where the French left off.

The North West company would be run from Montreal. This differed from the HBC, which would not change its policy of running the company of connected British businessmen from overseas; few of them would ever get to Rupert's Land. All transactions and business matters were decided at regular meetings in London. From here the company had the power to not only "make laws for its own employers and posts, but also for all persons in this charter territory. It could administer justice and use armed force if necessary" (Ruggles 259). Soon the company appointed a governor for each North American post (factory), which was located at the mouth of a river. In this way each post "developed its own trade area" (259). Eventually posts were opened inland and the term "district" was applied to a grouping of these post areas, which together were subservient to a bay factory.

By "1810, the company divided Rupertsland into two departments, northern and southern, each administered by governors, one centered at York Factory, and the other at Moose Factory" (259).

George Simpson was hired as governor of the Northern Department. Although still under the hand of the company officials in London, after amalgamation, Simpson was given charge of all company territory in Canada. While the final say on issues rested overseas, Simpson's unofficial name, "the little emperor," expresses the power he wielded as he took charge of the HBC interests in North American for forty years.

The reason the two companies, HBC and North West company, joined forces was necessity. It was simply that the conflict was causing physical as well as economic damage to them. By the late eighteenth century, fur trading companies, whose systems of operation were vastly different, dominated the Canadian landscape. As the HBC began to reach farther west into territories beyond the original Chartered agreement, the company appealed for an expansion and was granted one. This did not persuade the North Westerners from continuing to go where they had well established routes for furs. Conflict soon occurred where the fur trade companies overlapped before a resolution could be reached.

While chief factors and traders from both companies were given a place in the new organization, the HBC came out ahead in several ways. Not only were they able to keep their name, but one of their governors was made supreme commander of the territories, essentially. Simpson, fortunately, recognized the need for what North West company men had to offer. They knew the territory better than the HBC, since all company leaders, also called partners,

traveled inland at some time in their career. They also had amongst them the most skilled people in making and using fur trade canoes. In addition, since most North Western partners were from Scotland, they brought with them a hard working ethic. Most lead employees, wise to the business of trade, were given important jobs in the new company,

The HBC had initially resisted acquiring the skills needed to go inland, and preferred instead to have the Indians bring them the furs. The French, and later the North West Company, traveled easily into the extensive drainage system of Canada's subarctic. The North Westerners had moved into a well-oiled fur trade machine and had everything they needed. With the amalgamation, the new company would consist of the best of both companies; they were especially dependent on the North Westerner's ability to move about the territory.

After Simpson was given charge of the whole North American operation, his Scottish background enabled him to work well with the predominantly Scottish North West traders. Simpson was in awe of the well made canoes and the ability of the North Westerners to go great distances fast with their experienced voyageurs. Soon he would have the most impressive express canoe made for his inspection tours, propelled by the most able paddlers in company employment. He was called:

> little emperor and his entourage was fit for one. One trader recalled that the lines of his canoe were unmatched for

beauty, its bow a magnificent curve of bark gaudily but tastefully painted . . . His canoes were crewed by the company's best paddlers, mostly Iroquois, wielding matched paddles with vermilion blades.. . .Simpson's arrival never failed to impress the firm's employees and the Indians. (Roberts 221)

Cumberland House 1819

The last . . .is to cover all the seams on the outside with a mixture of pitch and grease boiled together. The shape of the canoe is now a round bottom, sharp extremities, gunwales in a plane parallel to the horizon, and circular prows and sterns, elevated one foot above them, the former of which is larger than the later. The paddles are four feet long, with narrow blades, and a small square sail completes the equipment; but a canoe, having no keel, can only cross the direction of the wind at a very oblique angle. The largest canoes are 32 feet in length, 5 and a half in breadth and 2 and a half in depth. They are borne across the longest portages by two men, the foreman and steersman; and though their materials are so slight, they will carry 3200 Tlb. each besides the crew. A loaded canoe has six paddlers, two of whom sit upon each bench, the foreman being single and the steersman standing in the stern with a long paddle. A lightly loaded canoe can stow conveniently ten paddlers and is capable of going seven miles an hour for a whole day. (Houston 65-66)

[From the Journal of Robert Hood, Midshipman with Franklin]

1.3 The Admiralty

The motivation which landed the British Admiralty on the land, lakes and streams of the Subarctic, area around the Arctic Circle, and Arctic regions of northern Canada, was the same motivation that inspired the French to go inland beyond the St. Lawrence; the search for a Northwest passage to access the riches of China. Yet the man responsible for putting the Navy in these unique environments, Sir John Barrow, Secretary of the Admiralty, had an even more focused military strategy. Barrow's larger plan involved "poleward advance of ships as far as possible into the areas east of Greenland; a continuing search for the elusive Northwest Passage; a land exploration of the little-known Arctic coast of North America" (Back xv-xvi). Following the Napoleonic Wars, Barrow was aware that manpower, ships and funding support could be readily available.

Perhaps to ensure that the public was behind him on his efforts of exploration, Barrow developed an interesting alliance with one of the leading London book publishers of the nineteenth century, John Murray of Albemarle Street. Barrow was involved not only in the Royal Navy, but the Royal Society and the Royal Geographical Society, which he founded. The topics for books generated from such new explorations complimented Murray's interest in travel. In A History of Booksellers, originally published in 1873, author Henry Curwen writes:

> Murray, skilled as any pilot in watching the direction of the wind, turned his attention to the publication of travels and expeditions--and soon Albemarle Street was famous for its "Travels.". . .Among the most valuable and successful of these were the expeditions of . . . Parry, Franklin[5].
>
> (Curwen 195-96)

In the years between 1818 and 1845, when Barrow retired in his early eighties, all Arctic explorations which Secretary to the Navy, Barrow, helped plan, had journals, sketches, and scientific data included. When each expedition returned to England, the officer in charge was responsible for seeing that the data got published quickly. It appears that, until the information was set in ink, the expedition was not over. This is evident in the First Franklin Overland Expedition, for example, which took place in the years 1819-1822. In 1823, England saw the first publication of the book on this expedition, which included the journal, sketches and scientific data gathered along the way. John Murray is the publisher of this book; he also published most subsequent exporation books associated with Barrow's guidance.

Barrow wrote an autobiographical memoir, published by Murray in 1847. In it he acknowledges the importance of those who were able to write effectively and pass on historic information

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[5] Sir John Franklin would lead three expeditions into the Arctic; two overland, and one by sea. This final trip, however, would end in the loss of both ships and all men aboard. The search to find an answer to Franklin's dissappearance led many more into the Arctic. This fulfilled the worst possible scenerio in the minds of the public. If one bright light could emerge from that fatal mission, it was the mapping of a good deal of that blank area of the Arctic Archipelago; the island chain on the northern most coast of North America.

discovered during the many explorations he oversaw. In commenting on the 1818 voyage to Spitzbergen, for example, he writes, "anything can be believed of the fecundity of Spitzbergen. . .after reading the interesting and instructive narrative of Captain Beechey" (Barrow 19). Barrow goes on to write that "Beechey tells us that the sea about Spitzbergen is as much alive as the land" (21).

In that 1818 expedition, Barrow dispatched four Admiralty ships into the Arctic. Two were to go by Svalbard to the North Pole and Siberia. The other two were to go through the Northwest passage and join the first two. Both groups fell far short of their intended missions, yet Barrow persisted and orchestrated more expeditions in the next years. This gave many of the men further opportunity to advance Britain's understanding of the uncharted areas in Northern Canada and the Arctic. Three men in particular left marks in history and the art world as well, by participating significantly in Admiralty activities.

Three names from the first Barrow endeavor of 1818 are John Ross, George Back, and Frederick Beechey. Ross would become lost in the Arctic before Franklin, and Back would be sent to rescue him. Back would learn of Ross's safe return while he was still in the Arctic, freeing him to focus on exploration. As a result, Back returned with a better sense of the geography of the northern Arctic. Beechey, whose father, William Beechey, was a famous portrait painter in London, would draft landscapes for the Admiralty record.

Later, Beechey would command the ship Blossom and be part of a rendezvous plan with Franklin's Second Overland Expedition. In his Admiralty instruction, Franklin was told that "in the event of your death, or any accident which may prevent your proceeding, the command of the Expedition must necessarily devolve on Lieutenant Back" (Franklin xxiv).

The Blossom, Captained by Beechey, was to go south around to the Pacific and try to reach Kotzebue's Inlet by the first year. Afterward, they would try to reach "Bering's Strait the following season [and] proceed to the appointed rendezvous" (Franklin xxiii). The Admiralty had hoped that Beechey's expedition, travelling from the Pacific side of Canada's northern coast, could meet with Franklin's Second Overland expedition into Canada, or Ross' Arctic Ocean expedition, at the "longitude of Icy Cape" (xxii). All parties missed the rendezvous.

Franklin's overland party had been divided into two groups. One group was assigned to surveying the coast between the Coppermine and MacKenzie Rivers and areas inland around the rivers and the Great Bear Lake. Back and Franklin were in the other group assigned to explore the northwest coast of America west of the MacKenzie River and attempt to reach Beechey's Blossom at Kotzebue's Inlet. When Franklin did not arrive as expected, Beechey sent a party farther north, reaching a high latitude on the northern coast of America at a place he named Point Barrow, for Secretary of the Admiralty Barrow. Ironically Franklin's party was not far from

Beechey's northern most destination when Franklin decided to turn around at a place he named Beechey Point, after the officer he had hoped to meet. Franklin had no reason to believe the Blossom went farther than where they were expected to meet. On this near rendezvous with Beechey Franklin wrote, "Could I have known, or by possibility imagined that a party from the Blossom had been at the distance of only one hundred and sixty miles from me, no difficulties, dangers or discouraging circumstances should have prevailed on me to return" (Franklin 165). The following year, 1827, when another attempt was planned, early ice made it a bad year for Beechey to navigate another expedition high into the coastal waters of North America (166).

Beechey and his fellow Pacific explorers aboard the Blossom continued with their assigned mission. They ventured into territories in the south seas, bringing back scientific data as well as drawings for the Admiralty and the publishing house of Murray. As he had done in his Spitzbergen mission, Beechey saw the data and drawings through to publication. Other exploration leaders did likewise. Murray continued to flourish as a result of this influx of exploration books, and the names of the officers who told the stories have become familiar to us.

Upon Barrow's retirement, officers in the Admiralty jointly composed a letter of recognition for the admirable contribution he made to Arctic exploration. In the officers' list of 28 included at the bottom of the letter, eleven Captains are listed. The following

are the first five: "Sir W.E. Parry, Sir John Franklin, Fred. W. Beechey, Sir Jas. C. Ross, Sir Geo. Back" (Barrow 478). This list shows the high Admiralty standing both Beechey and Back gained in the decades following their first venture into the Arctic. It seems safe to assume that officers in this select group of eleven knew one another, especially if they had participated on missions together. Since all officers were required to write what they experienced, it could also be assumed that they were interested in each other's adventures, enough so to read the writings from their fellow cohorts in the Arctic, which Murray had published under Barrow's encouragement. It might even be said that lessons learned from the others' experiences might save their own lives someday. Murray's publications on Northern explorations should have been required reading for all officers involved. While the public demand for this literature was heightened, all Admiralty members would most likely have their own libraries with all the published works on northern exploration. Back and Beechey, both in this category of officer, should each have had such a library in his home.

Chapter 2

The Family Connection. Hopkins' Father, Rear Admiral Frederick William Beechey: A Contemporary to George Back.

One earlier line of family connection between Hopkins and Back is evident in a listing of the 1819 voyage of the Trent, one of four ships sent out on two expeditions in search of a northwest passage through the Arctic. This period of exploration following the end of the Napoleonic War saw the Royal Navy able to redirect more of its time and resources to such causes.

A list in the appendix of William Edward Parry's, Journal of a Voyage of Discovery to the Arctic Regions, shows the roster of officers from the four ships used in Barrow's planned Baffin Bay and Spitsbergen expeditions. On the roster for the Trent, commanded by Lieutenant John Franklin, Frances Hopkins' father, Frederick William Beechey, also a Lieutenant, is listed after Franklin; apparently he is second in command of the mission. Farther down the list is George Back, one of the Trent's midshipmen. The commander of the Trent, Franklin, would later play a pivotal role in uniting the names of Beechey and Back on another effort to secure a northern route.

On this later venture, Franklin's second overland mission into the Arctic regions, Franklin and his crew would attempt to explore a northern overland route west of the Mackenzie river, while Captain William Edward Parry would attempt to secure a northwest passage on the Arctic waters.

The Franklin and Parry expeditions were expected to attempt a rendezvous with Beechey, who would go around the Cape and be on the Pacific side at a prescribed time and place in order to meet one or both groups. For this mission, Beechey, by this time a Captain, was given His Majesty's sloop Blossom. This ship, however, was not outfitted as well as Parry's for wintering over in the Arctic.

Beechey's instructions state that he is to be at "Bering's Strait in the Autumn of 1826 and contingently, in that of 1827, for the purpose of affording such assistance as may be required, either by Captain Parry or Captain Franklin, should one or the other make an appearance in that neighborhood" (Gough 25). Another apparent motivation in sending Beechey there was concern over Russian expansion in the area and the security of rich British fur territory.

The Blossom was also outfitted to do extensive scientific studies in various Pacific locations along the way such as Pitcarn Island, (where members of the infamous Bounty had landed), since the Blossom could not winter over in the ice. In 1827, however, the Blossom was forced to leave the planned place of rendezvous before they could meet with their fellow officers. The ice was closing in.

This particular 1825-1827 mission developed an indirect connection between Back and Beechey. That is, while they did not sail together this time, they were part of the same overall cause. Their involvement here may have strengthened the connection between the two men as their prestige as explorers and ranks as naval officers grew. As officers who had sailed together previously

on the Trent, the two should have become well acquainted. Surely, they were acquainted enough to discuss this 1825-27 missed rendezvous mission in which they each played key roles.

Nonetheless, another name on Parry's 1819 roster proves an even more direct and important link in uniting the paths of Beechey and Back; that of the commander of the Isabella, Captain John Ross. In 1829, Ross commanded the Victory on an exploratory mission to the Polar Regions but did not return as expected.

When news arrived that the status of the Victory was uncertain and public concern was growing, Back proposed that he lead a party to search for Ross while attempting to reach the Arctic Ocean from the Great Slave Lake. From that point he would explore and scientifically observe unknown portions of the Arctic coast. Due to Back's extraordinary contributions to Franklin's second expedition, he had been promoted to commander but was unable to obtain a ship. One apparent reason for this is that the government had been gradually decreasing its support of Arctic exploratory missions. The Ross incident seemed to rekindle interest in the Arctic as it ensured Back a command mission.

While Beechey does not travel with Back on this mission, his support for its cause is evident. Beechey is listed with high ranking members of the Admiralty on a twenty-one member standing committee for the management of the Back-headed search party for Ross.

Among the Admiralty heavyweights of the day is John Barrow, who was most responsible for Admiralty missions into the Arctic. In his published journal on the trip, Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition, 1836, Back writes about the committee presentation in order to gain Royal support of the mission. Back says:

> their royal highnesses the Duchess of Kent and Princess Victoria also received a deputation, consisting of Vice Admiral Sir George Cockburn, Captains Beechey and Moconochie, with myself, for the purpose of pointing out on the chart the line of the proposed route, submitting, at the same time, a sketch of the intended proceedings:-on which occasion their Royal Highnesses evinced a truly benevolent interest in the expedition (Back 12).

Among the many subscribers listed in Back's Narrative, originally published by John Murray in London in 1836, is Beechey.

So Beechey helped Back and other members of the Navy present the importance of the mission to the Royal family. Maybe he held the chart up jointly with Back as their superiors argued the case for the mission. But more importantly, he is listed as one of the subscribers (Back 639) to Back's record of the journey, which of course includes Back's drawings. While we could assume that all the officers who contributed to the exploration works which Murray published had a library of books relating to their missions, this evidence even more strongly suggests that Back's Narrative would

have been in the Beechey household as Frances, who was born in 1838, was growing up.

Chapter 3

Where Lines Diverge: The Sublime And the Beautiful Nature of Back and Hopkins

The concept of the Sublime and the Beautiful comes to light on the pages of Edmund Burke's book, A Philosophical Enquiry Into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful, written in 1757. Burke formulated the aesthetic of the Sublime in response to traveler's reactions on seeing the Swiss and Italian Alps. His treatise arrived in time for the public to have an understanding of the sublime and the beautiful which could be used to comprehend the images written and sketched in the newly explored northern reaches of Canada. In comparing his concepts, Burke interchanges the word great to identify the sublime. He says:

> For sublime objects are vast in their dimensions, beautiful ones comparatively small; beauty should be smooth, and polished; the great rugged and negligent; beauty should shun the right line, yet deviate from it insensibly; the great in many cases loves the right line, and when it deviates, it often makes a strong deviation; beauty should not be obscure; the great ought to be dark and gloomy; beauty should be light and delicate, the great ought to be solid and even massive. . . one being founded on pain, the other pleasure.
>
> (Burke 124)

Two articles are especially important in relating how the concepts of the Sublime and the Beautiful applied to images in the

Arctic and Subarctic for the European audience. In "The Arctic Sublime," by Chauncey C. Loomis, the author discusses the concept of an unmapped region of the earth, in this case, the Arctic, made Sublime by the vastness of its void. He notes that the human imagination struggles with the great dimensions of such an unfamiliar environment. The viewer is apt to feel awe and even terror when confronted with such vastness. Loomis says that "the Sublime cannot be mapped" (Loomis 112). As nineteenth century explorations filled in the voids with real places, doom falls upon the Sublime Arctic, as it cannot exist when it is "domesticated with names" (112).

In another article, "The Aesthetic Map of the North, 1845-1859," I.S. MacLaren discusses images from British Admiralty missions in search for the elusive Northwest Passage to Asia. Each mission had topographers on board who were qualified to sketch what they saw, and the Admiralty's publication of their journals helped feed a growing public interest in the Sublime. When the final Franklin expedition did not return, they concluded that the infinite masses of ice could swallow the two ships and all the men. The British imagined the worst scenario the Sublime could offer the public imagination. Yet it was this very search for the lost expedition that did the most to modify the public view of a Sublime North. Gradually the course of events surrounding the Franklin Expedition became known and data from the search voyages collectively filled in the map. The information gathered by the

searching expeditions helped to erase the overwhelming awesomeness of the region. Nevertheless, before that happened, the artists returned and published images of the terror the Arctic could offer. Artist's renderings of their experiences North managed to envision the Sublime monster going down with Franklin's ships.

Two other sources further analyze Burke's impression of the Sublime as compared to the Picturesque in Northern art. One is Neil Kent's book, The Triumph of Light and Nature: Nordic Art 1740-1940, 1987, which highlights artists who painted the northern Sublime using images they imagined from literature or stories. The painters focused on the unique effects of air, vastness, coldness, color and light. In Caspar David Friedrich's The Arctic Sea, 1823 (fig. 9), for example, the thick slabs of ice have been tossed recklessly into an odd slanting pile, resembling a building after an earthquake. While the toppled form originally consisted of uniform shape (as the thickness of the slabs are the same), its original structure was destroyed by a powerful force which may still be lurking just beneath the water. This massive image of upheaval demonstrates Burke's idea that when the right line of the sublime deviates, it does so strongly.

Another reference to the Sublime by Friedrich is a ship asleep on its side, which the artist places obscurely off to the right. The way the ship blends into the slabs of ice, bending in the same direction, and the fact that it is the only man made object in the picture, leaves an impression that life is not welcome in this world.

Strangely, Friedrich's depiction anticipates the lost Franklin expedition, which would not occur for another twenty years.

In Shipweck on the Coast of Norway,1832 (fig. 10), by Johan Christian Dahl, an impression of Franklin's last voyage is also present. Dahl's ship is on its side nearly horizontal to the water, having nearly lost its fight with nature. The high cliffs surrounding it emphasize the lost battle. Nature is winning here, at least against the ship. Yet all is not lost: Some crew members and the cargo are on the shore. The fact that Dahl places his ship in a central position shows its importance in this Sublime atmosphere. Although the large waves are threatening to swallow it, we can see that life has been spared.

In another Dahl work, Birch Tree In a Storm, 1849 (fig. 11), life is also winning. In this case, the tree, which is anchored in the ground and bent from the mighty force trying to rip it from its roots, is holding its ground. The tree also dominates the central portion of the frame, and this placement by Dahl is intended to show it surviving the battle with the invisible, sublime force of the storm. Burke's statement that the "sublime and the beautiful are sometimes found united" (Burke 124), helps to explain why light on the branches of the tree as well as its glowing white bark create an image of beauty in this sublime environment.

From another section of the earth's north, Kesler Woodward's Painting in the North documents Alaskan Art contributions to the Anchorage Museum of History and Art. Included

here are images painted by visitors to Alaska from the first years of contact. In Richard Peter Smith's untitled work of the USS Jamestown at Sitka dated 1880, Burke's beautiful is fully in control. While movement is evident as one small boat moves nearly unnoticed toward the edge of the scene, there is a general sense of inactivity. Smith's blue sky and calm reflective water also create beauty in this scene.

Another painting at the Anchorage Museum of History and Art is Albert J. Opertti's Farthest North, 1886 (fig. 12). While the landscape hints at the sublime (as you cannot see into the dark reaches of the horizon) the foreground is dominated by humans. One man is standing reading directions, while the other man closest to him is waiting for information. The others in the wintry background, as well as the dogs, are not concerned with the activities of the main characters, who are apparently planning their next move. The party may be temporarily lost in the far north, but the instructions the leader has will show them where they need to go. This group is not dominated by their environment, instead they are the victors. The bright- lighted snow transmits a positive impression. So does the calm atmosphere. The leader's presence dominates the middle ground and his stance is confident and calculating. A mysterious unknown is not a threat to them; the leader seeks answers from the paper he is holding, which is probably a Sublime-defeating map. The Sublime cannot get a foothold there. Opertti shows the victory of Burke's beauty in an enviromnent known for its Sublime harshness.

Burke's Sublime introduced the world to the "vast, open space whose dimensions defy definition or even imagination. Open stretches of ocean or prairie, perilous mountain peaks or abysses, thunderstorms or tornadoes. . . inspiring fear and wonder" (MacLaren 90).

In his article on the aesthetic map of the north, MacLaren says that the Picturesque:

> grew out of the habit of viewing tracts of land as if they were landscape paintings. A prospect or viewing station, usually set on a moderate rise, looked out over a foreground, a lower middle ground through which a river meanders. A single vanishing point on the horizon encouraged a single static perspective from each station; on the sides, clumps of trees as if curtains. The notion of a composed landscape was paramount. (MacLaren 90)

Two sources which demonstrate the use of the Sublime and the Picturesque in nineteenth century Canadian art are the journal and sketches of British Naval exploration missions into Northern Canada, and the drawings made of the Canadian fur trade with the permission of the Hudson's Bay Company. The British Admiralty supported missions all were encouraged to keep written records as well as sketchings. A variety of art images were created in an effort to visually document what was seen. Missions ranged from Samuel Hearne's three expeditions (1769-72), which eventually took him down the Coppermine River and to the Arctic Ocean, through the

British Naval attempts to find the Northwest passage in the early nineteenth century, to the many mid - nineteenth century expeditions seeking to find John Franklin, his men and two ships. The creators of such art include Samuel Hearne, Lieutenant F. Beechey during the 1821 William Edward Parry Arctic mission, George Back and Robert Hood on Franklin's first overland expedition and Back on Franklin's second overland mission. Their efforts would leave a lasting impression of either a Sublime North or a picturesque North similar to the landscapes of their European roots.

The artist's motivation for creating either aesthetic appears to stem not only from the way the artist saw his surroundings, but also from the way the Admiralty intended for us to view northern Canada. The Admiralty's taste for keeping the North sublime, may have been inspired by the hope of keeping intruders out of the territory they wanted to map and thus claim for country. They also depended on the trade goods, and interlopers into the country would interrupt their business. While they were still mapping the northern fringe of the country, the fur trade was going strong in the early part of the nineteenth century.

But by the 1840's, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, Sir George Simpson, allowed artists Henry Warre, and later, Paul Kane to accompany the fur trade brigade to the West Coast. At that time, trade was winding down and the Americans were quickly settling into the Oregon Territories. Canadian settlers were needed in an attempt to outnumber the growing population of Americans moving

in from the south. The artists' renderings may have lent a part in showing that the territory there was more inviting than the impressions made by early explorers. These artists, Warre and Kane, were allowed to travel and wander the fur trade territory, which was predominantly in the lower subarctic regions of Canada, that region below the Arctic Circle. The artists' works depict this notion of a tamed wilderness.

In 1845, British Admiralty officer Lieutenant Henry Warre and Lt. Vavasour of the Royal Engineers were permitted to travel with Simpson on his annual tour of inspection from Montreal to the North West. Both men were on a secret mission to record the activity of Americans in the Oregon Territory, a place where the boundary separating Canada and America had not yet been decided. By the time the millitary men returned to England with their report, the borderline issue had been resolved. But Warre had written a journal along the way and sketched the landscape from Montreal to Vancouver. Soon after Warre and Vavasour arrived back in London, a small volume giving an account of their trip, was published. It included "a brief narrative of the journey and twenty colored lithographs" (Warre 8) from Warre's journal and sketches.

A year after Warre and Vavasour's trip out west, Canadian artist Paul Kane was given permission to accompany Simpson's brigade west. Both artists, Warre and Kane, documented the landscape of the fur trade, although their sketches also allowed the public to see that the wilderness was not as sublime as the

Admiralty views had suggested. The Warre and Kane Canadian environment was a much more tamed landscape. For people interested in staking a claim and settling in the new territory (as the Americans were doing in droves), their paintings were an invitation.

Warre's A Portage Through the Bush, May 1845 (fig. 13), for example, shows a canoe portage through a steep wooded landscape. The voyageurs carrying the canoe appear comfortable in the surroundings, although the men holding the canoes are straining. The environment is not threatening, but is something they must traverse, get through. It does not evoke a strong emotion as a sublime territory might. The bright colors of the men's clothing and the blue sky in the distance lightens the effect of their struggle. We know they will make it, just as they appear to casually understand that fact, as long as they keep moving. This human movement through the wilderness shows that they are not submerged in the landscape, even though they are dipping into a ravine. The leader has crossed the bridge, a man made structure, and is proceeding up the other side as Warre's sketch momentarily holds his pose for us. The message for the public is that this territory is approachable if you are ready to do your part. It won't be easy but one can overcome difficulties.

Paul Kane's The Mountain Portage, 1846 (fig. 14), gives a similar portrayal of a large birch bark canoe being carried through a wilderness landscape. Kane's territory, however, shows the huge Precambrian Shield formations which the men are traversing instead

of the forested areas in Warre's painting. The effect, however, is the same. The men struggle to move through the territory but they are undaunted. They will arrive at their destination just as Warre's party had the year before, as witnessed in his Portage through the Bush.

In Kane's Norway House, 1846 (fig. 15), the picturesque setting of the central Canada HBC outpost is indicated by the British flag flying high overhead and the barrack structures. The image further indicates that civilized protection is present in that far northern outpost. A few canoes are being used on the reflective blue water, apparently for recreational rowing, as opposed to the York boats (named for the sharp ended European boats initally built at York Factory for Northern travel), which are anchored down. The larger number of these European style boats would also contribute a less sublime impression than a large group of Native model boats might give. Again, a bright blue of the sky reflected on the water such as is seen in Richard Peter Smith's untitled picture of the USS Jamestown in Sitka (fig 16), creates another safe, beautiful, northern landscape. And just before his death in 1860, at the end of his forty year reign of the HBC, Simpson also permitted Frances Anne Hopkins to paint the fur trade territory.

Hopkins was the wife of one of his Chief Factors, Edward Hopkins of the Montreal Division, and daughter of British Naval Officer Frederick William Beechey. She was allowed to travel with her husband along his tour of duty and sketch as they traveled in the

canoe manned by colorfully dressed voyageurs. As Janet Clark writes in Frances Anne Hopkins' Canadian Scenery, published by the Thunder Bay Gallery in 1990, "such travel was available to few artists because permission was required from the Hudson's Bay Company, which controlled the fur trade routes and held title to Rupert's Land until 1869" (Clark 21). Frances arrived in Canada in 1858. Her husband, Edward, had worked for HBC for many years before. After his first wife died, he returned to England and married Frances, who would have two young sons to raise from her husband's first marriage. Nevertheless, Edward encouraged Frances in painting.

Painting, for Hopkins, was a family tradition, as her paternal grandfather, Sir William Beechey (1753-1839), was a well known portrait painter who sometimes painted nobility. Her father, Frederick William Beechey, would end his career in the British Admiralty as a Rear Admiral, but was used early in his career as a draft artist on many significant missions. His first northern mission was with Franklin on the ice bound mission to Spitzbergen. Later, with William Edward Parry, Beechey would sketch unmapped areas of the Arctic archipelago in the years 1819-1820. One of these islands, Beechey Island, was named by commander Ross in honor of his father (Frances' grandfather), Sir William Beechey. Eventually this island would go down in history as the place where the final Franklin expedition turned ill-fated. The partial remains found on site at Beechey Island began to tell the tale of horror this

party of explorers experienced in the North. This evidence proved to the world what the North was capable of doing to man: It began destroying them their first winter out.

This discovery of horror appears to give credence to the dark, sublime impressions Back and Beechey had been painting from their exploration experiences. In Beechey's sketches, such as H.M. Ships Hecla and Griper in Winter Harbour (fig. 17), published in Parry's Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage (1821), he appears to be emphasizing to the world the sublime nature of the territory in which he had spent long periods of time. The ships Beechey sketches depict an unnatural state, as the ships are anchored on the ice. A figure is standing on the ice between them and so indicates that life is evident, as is also shown by the presence of a wolf at the bottom left corner. The wolf actually looks out of place, and may be an addition which the engraver took the liberty to add to the picture. Such was their habit. Beechey's starry night sky fills the edge of three sides of the picture, which indicates the immensity of their environment, and thus Burke's Sublime.

Yet the finding of Franklin, while appearing to add to the Sublime mystique of the North, also reversed this trend. The extensive search allowed cartographers to fill in the missing gaps on the map about the same time fur trading was winding down. Victorian ladies such as Frances were finding their way into the "wilderness," as light and clarity, such as we see in Hopkins work,

became fixtures in the artists' landscapes. Before she was allowed to sit calmly in her canoe and sketch, however, the trading companies needed to sort out their differences, and the Admiralty's quest to map their territory was underway.

By the third decade of the nineteenth century, in 1821, the two rival fur trade companies in Canada, the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, found it more profitable to amalgamate their resources than to fight bitterly over the diminishing trade goods. The first Franklin Overland Expedition, including artists Robert Hood and George Back, arrived in Canada just prior to this union. Unfortunately, the horrors of starvation and lack of assistance from the trade companies resulted from the companies' bickering.

Aspirations were high when Franklin's group set out on their assigned mission to chart the Coppermine River more scientifically than Samuel Hearne had done several decades prior to that time. The expedition, with artists Back and Hood, then mapped the shore of the Arctic Ocean east from the mouth of the river. By the time they got well into the northern region, they were essentially at the mercy of those who were supposed to supply them. The plan fell apart at that point and tragedy struck their crew. Many of the voyageurs as well as the officer Hood died of starvation. George Back, whose stamina may stem from having spent many years in a French prison camp in the Napoleonic wars, traveled hundreds of miles on foot in the northern winter to bring help for the surviving members.

Another man who had proven his strength making his way on foot in the north is Samuel Hearne, who had continued to attempt a march to the mouth of the Coppermine River in the late seventeen hundreds until he succeeded in accomplishing his mission. His orders stated that he was to look for copper, which he determined was not there after all.

Twenty five years after Hearne trekked into the northern reaches of Canada, the well respected publishing house of Cadel and Strahan, who published Cook's Third Voyage, published his A Journey From Prince of Wales Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 in 1792. Included in this book is the sketch, A Winter View in the Athapuscow Lake, 1771 (fig. 18), which is especially significant in its composition. Later, explorers to that area noted that the trees are not that high there and the setting not as symmetrically balanced as Hearne showed it to be. George Back, for example, is noted for having drawn the same lake while on Franklin's first overland expedition. See his Great Slave Lake SE View, Novem' 30 1820 (fig. 19)[6].

In his forward to Arctic Artist, (George Back's journal from his first Franklin expedition), I. S. MacLaren addresses the two ways the explorers viewed this territory. His Commentary is titled "The Aesthetics of Back's Writing and Painting from the First Overland Expedition." MacLaren says that Hearne's rendition of the lake:

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6 Ambiguity exists in the names of the lake. Hearne could mean Lake Athabasca, a major hub lake in the fur trade area, which differs from MacLaren's impression that it is the same as Back's Great Slave Lake.

> conveys the North in the pre-picturesque aesthetic of a French formal garden, in which symmetry serves as the paramount structural quality. The viewer's eye is attracted down a path to the left or right of the perfectly balanced conifer, while the points or islands on the left and right act as coulisses (the wing curtains at the sides of a stage) restricting the view and conducting it regularly down the snowy "lawns" to the enclosed background at the back of the scene. The trees are. . .in a decorous uniformity of height, girth, and perpendicularity. (Houston 298)

MacLaren indicates that, in contrast to Hearne, Back utilizes the aesthetic of the Sublime. MacLaren comments on Back's rendition when he says it is:

> distinctly unpanoramic in its low point of view and looking southeast in the direction he wishes to walk, this monochromatic ink and brush . . . makes no effort at a picturesque rendition. . . Back was keen not to deploy the prevailing aesthetic of his own age. (Houston 299)

MacLaren further explains that Back creates a vast emptiness in that the view is not composed of an inviting location. Great space is suggested by the lack of human presence in the scene, as well as by "violating the second dictum of landscape representation by permitting the lake to run interminably out of the horizon at the left. The result complements the effect of vacancy that the presence of so little land generates. The sense of place cannot

readily be determined where the scale is not confined" (Houston 299). MacLaren also comments that the wind blown trees, their ragged appearance, and the changed status of the lake from ice to water further lends to Back's rendition of disharmony in the landscape. "This is a good example," MacLaren notes, "of Back's talent for seeing with a perspective not entirely governed/shackled by the picturesque" (Houston 300). Back chose to represent in the language of the earlier Sublime, rather than the later picturesque.

The sublime terror of Franklin's third expedition inspired massive exploratory missions to northern Arctic regions. As it became known that Franklin did not conquer the Northwest Passage, a sublime impression was left in the hearts of anyone who knew that the Arctic had engulfed the two ships and all crew members. This emotion extended into the images which those who searched for Franklin expressed in writing and in paintings. The following are names of such examples of paintings of that era which express this aesthetic of the Sublime:

Man Proposes, God Disposes Sir Edwin Landseer

Critical Position of H.M.S. Investigator on the North Coast of Baring Island, August 20, 1851. S. G. Cresswell.

H.M.S. Investigator in the Pack. October 8th 1850 S.G. Cresswell.

All such images tell the story which Casper David Friedrich's The Arctic Sea, 1823, foretold three decades earlier. Landseer's

title conveys the theme in words: a powerful unseen force rules the Arctic landscape.

By the time Frances Hopkins arrived in Canada in 1858, Franklin had been found and the fur trade was slowing down. Two years after her arrival, Sir George Simpson died and slowly the trade territories opened to settlement. In order for people to want to live in this land, (portrayed as Sublime in nature on earlier canvases), a picturesque image was preferred. Hopkins' paintings were brightly colored, clear, sunlit, and picturesque. In a painting such as Canoe Manned by Voyageurs Passing a Waterfall, 1869 (fig. 20), the calm water and casual attitude of passengers and the HBC servants, (voyageurs), operating the canoe indicate a tame environment. No one appears anxious to go faster. No one appears terrified of the landscape. The immense size of the wall, a huge rock towering over the canoe party, could fit into Burke's category of Sublime, but too many beautiful images cancel it out. Such images include: the calm light-reflective water, the detailed art work evident on the canoe, the beautiful stillness of the flower on the water as the voyageur reaches for it, the colorful European style clothes the voyageurs wear, and the lack of concern demonstrated by the passengers riding along. All this suggests that Hopkins' Canadian wilderness has been conquered and tamed. Her beautiful images are a calling card for the public to know that it is safe to settle in Rupert's Land, that the dragon has been slain.

Hopkins' numerous Royal Exhibition exhibits would further herald the impression to the British public that the monster which took Franklin, his ships and men, was gone. In her work, viewers repeatedly see a Victorian woman riding through the Canadian territory looking like a horse-drawn-carriage traveler passing through a picturesque English countryside. Back's sublime art and Hopkins' picturesque landscapes help to tell the tale of the changing atmosphere in Canada as it moved from a fur trade nation to a settled nation.

Chapter 4

Where Lines Converge: The Suggestion of Influence

The following are examples of the works of Hopkins and Back which appear to show where influence may be evident. While only a few decades separated the times they each sketched the Rupert's Land, she from when they arrived in Canada in 1858, and he from the first Franklin expedition in 1819, to the mid 1830's, their experiences were in many ways vastly different. Change in the tone of the images can be seen comparing Back's more Sublime work, to Hopkins' picturesque impressions first exhibited at the Royal Academy in London in 1869. But, while the differences between the artists' work is clearly observable, such as in the effective way Back designs his atmospheric effects to draw out strong emotions from the viewer, as we see in Moores Bay, Polar Sea, the influence Back may have had on Hopkins could be seen through that same crisp, cold air. In Hopkins' Canoes in a Fog, Lake Superior, for example, the color of the mist and glassy water reflect a natural coolness in the air. Furthermore, since Hopkins' canoe parties follow Backs lead onto wide bodies of water as Lake Superior, visible atmosphere would be a common feature for both artists to address.

Hopkins' father Beechey had subscribed to Back's Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition to the Mouth of the Great Fish River and the Shores of the Arctic Ocean, in the Years 1833, 1834 and 1835. Since the Narrative is the most direct influence I can cite, on

Frances Hopkins' artwork, Back's drawings from it will be used in examining potential influence.

In Western View from Near Mt. Barrow , 1834 (fig. 21), Back shows human presence clearly as the central focus of the drawing. He details such things as the tea kettle nearby the tent, and the rolled bundles most likely used for sleep. A characteristic kind of dress is evident, especially on the central figure, yet faces cannot be seen. The sublime element of this image is quite evident in that Back's figures are all looking toward the vast misty nothingness. Something out there is holding their attention and if we glance down we get a hint at what it may be. A vertebra of something large is in full view on the sand.

But Back does not leave us totally terrified. Not only is the central figure standing confidently in the center of this picture, but he is curtained (although faintly) by more humans. They seem to be in sentinel positions also. Whatever is there will have to get by them before they get to the man and us. There, on the edge of the painting nearly unnoticeable, is a mist veiled canoe. Back seems to be aligning the canoe with the other protectors of the camp.

In stark contrast to Back's Western View from Near Mt Barrow is Hopkin's Voyagers At Dawn ,1871, an image of a canoe encampment getting ready for the day. Here, you see bright colors, as opposed to the gray of Back's drawing. Like Back, Hopkins has divided the canvas into pockets of life activity, or life inactivity. She clearly shows human dominance in a wilderness setting. The

only thing close to a frightful possibility in this painting is whatever captures the attention of the man on the left side. Whatever it is appears difficult for him to see clearly. It is apparently at such a distance, that no threat is moving this gathering. No one else is concerned, so why should we be?

The central figure in Hopkins' painting contrasts with the central figure in Back's painting Western View from Near Mt. Barrow. Hopkins' figure does not stand on guard, but is sleeping comfortably under a birch bark canoe. He is apparently at such peace with his surroundings that he is oblivious to the early morning activity going on around him. The canoe plays the role of protector, here, as in Back's painting, albeit from the weather.

In another Back painting from his Narrative, called Victoria Headland, Mouth of the Thlew-EE-CHO-Dezeth, 1834 (fig. 22), a single boat appears to be struggling in a strong current, since the bowsman is steering the vessel away from us into the vast currents toward open waters. The boat they have is not a canoe, and there are no other humans with them in the wilderness. Essentially their presence and their mode of travel are both out of place. While we clearly see where they are going, we sense that they could easily become engulfed by it all. One figure in the boat is wearing a black cape and wide brimmed hat. He appears to be sitting tall in his place, and one is reminded of the central figure in Back's Western View. Both figures radiate an air of confidence in response to the

world they are facing. These are European people forcing their way through unfamiliar territory.

In contrast to Back's Victoria picture is Hopkin's Shooting The Rapids. Here we see the huge birch bark canoe carrying about 15 people dressed quite colorfully in a variety of styles ranging from well dressed to more "voyageur casual." These people are also making their way through rough water, but not everyone in the boat is struggling. Only the paddlers seem consumed by the condition of the current and rocks passing nearby. The passengers in the middle of the boat, which include Hopkins and her husband Edward, do not give the impression of experiencing anything more than an exhilarating ride, one not so exciting that the hats on their heads are threatened. We are not so concerned for them or their hats. The voyageurs look to be skilled and observant of what is happening around them. Nature is not threatening to them, as it is in Back's painting Victoria Headland (fig. 22), where we see expedition members struggling with the elements in a York boat. Hopkins is showing us, on the other hand, that the canoe is the safe way to go.

Hopkins' canoe is heading close to us on shore where its passengers will all make it out of the water. The dominance of this native canoe and the people riding it give the impression that not only are European men and women safe in the wilderness, but they can trust their lives in a vessel which is traditional to the Native people. Hopkins appears to be saying in her art, such as Shooting the Rapids, that there is no need to fear the original inhabitants of the

land anymore either. Where are they anyway? If they are here, they are incorporated into the voyageur world, and who is more trusted in this picture?

The passengers calmly ride out the waves as the voyageurs steer the canoe. The fate of all is held by the thin walls of the canoe. Hopkins found this express canoe in use when she traveled with her husband Edward on his tour of his division territory. But had Back influenced her decision to use it so dominantly in the vision of the world she created?

In another Back drawing called North Shore of Great Slave Lake, Back shows us two birch bark canoes as they calmly move past a high rock mountain wall. Those in the canoe central to the picture are quite recognizable and appear to be voyageurs, possibly of Native American descent, paddling alongside men dressed more traditionally European. While the voyageurs are dressed in more casual western style, their hair is dark and long, and their skin tone seems darker than that of the man on the end smoking.

Also, due to the hat and large coat this man is wearing, he appears to be a leader of the party and may even be Back himself. Hopkins is commonly recognized for placing herself in the setting. This may originate from Back's practice, evident in his North Shore picture.

In Hopkins' Canoe Manned By Voyageurs Passing a Waterfall, a calmness is also evident in the painting. The gentleman and woman believed to be Edward and Frances Hopkins are clearly visible, even

more so than is the man in Back's North Shore who is smoking and probably Back himself. The voyageurs in Hopkins' waterfall painting, while dressed in the traditional colorful voyageur clothes, appear more Native American looking here than in her Shooting the Rapids painting. The man in the red with the white bandana looks to be particularly more native than the man at the front of the canoe. Hopkins and her husband appear once again unconcerned by their mode of transportation or their guides.

What looks like a flag hanging from a post at the rear of the canoe may also be a sail like the ones in Back's canoes. The influence of Back here may be seen in the repetition of details, such as the elevated pole off the end of the canoe holding a flag/sail. Back painted the territory he explored over 20 years before Hopkins would live and travel with her husband. Back's vision was influenced by the fact that much of what he saw had never been observed by Europeans before. He naturally wanted to bring a Sublime quality to the world he painted. While Hopkins found forested territory, it was also a more civilized environment. The rivers and the lakes that she traveled with her husband Edward had been used as an active marine highway for many years prior to her arrival. In contrast to Back's wild experience, Hopkins found a settled calmness in the wilderness such as is expressed in her Waterfalls painting.

In Voyageurs At Dawn, Hopkins shows what an early morning scene in a voyageur camp looked like, just as Back showed another camp-breaking morning as evidenced by bed rolls. In his Western

View, the concerns of his day are more pressing. The lack of vision from the mist on the water ahead looks like a life threatening situation, and the attention they pay it expresses its importance.

A dawn mist also lingers in the air in Hopkins' morning painting, but only garners the attention of one member of the group. Back's concern over the explorers' possible lack of vision emphasizes the fact that they were in uncharted waters, from a European point of view.

The territory Hopkins explored had been so thoroughly used by Europeans by the time she got there, that concern over a misted-over path was minimal. Such an attitude also appears the case in Hopkins' work, Canoes in A Fog, Lake Superior, where Hopkins is more attentive to her task at hand, (sketching in a notebook?), than to the way ahead. Those leading the canoe convoy knew what to expect. Hopkins apparently borrowed Back's mist and uses it like a particular shade of paint to make certain points relating to what she saw. She uses it here as a means to say that the world she visited was not so frightening as the world Back encountered. This is the difference between the artists; their worlds were different. But Hopkins' use of an artistic element such as atmosphere, would create a common thread between the two Rupert's Land artists, while also underscoring the differences in the times they painted.

Another physical element Hopkins may have borrowed from Back is her use of a high rock wall as a backdrop such as we see, for instance, in her Waterfall. Both walls seem to give evidence that

something bigger than the occupants of the canoe is present and may represent the difficulty of their environment since they have to find their way around the walls. But both artists appear respectful of this fact, as Hopkins' and Back's paintings each express a reverence through the water's reflective calmness. And just as the water's reflection catches the wall, the occupants of the canoe, and the canoe itself, Hopkins' art in general reflects several elements from Back's artwork. These can be seen in her use of mist, the distinguishable characters in the canoe, and the placement of herself and her husband in the canoe, and the canoes placement in an expansive body of water. Ultimately, however, it is Hopkins' canoe itself that appears to reflect Back's influence most, as she repeatedly chooses to give it an important place in her art.

In Hopkins' Waterfall and Back's North Shore, the birch bark canoe glides over the canvas so that the length and intricate structure of the vessel is strongly impressed on the eye. While the canoe appears a passive participant in both paintings, Back first demonstrates here that these light-weight vessels can not only carry many men, but can be trusted to venture out into the vast unknown with them in it. The fact that Hopkins can sit calmly in the canoe along with the many others, even over rapid water, shows us that she got it; she got Back's point.

Hopkins could have studied the Narrative prints of Back's paintings as she grew up and recognized the power of the frail looking vessel. Not only did it house her and her husband as they

traveled Edwards' inspection tours, it also carried anyone interested in going into the farthest reaches West, as Kane and Warre had done, and North, as Back and his sketches must have clearly demonstrated to the young artist.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

By the time Hopkins got to Rupert's Land, the canoe was still an important means of transport for the Company, and she was fortunate to be allowed passage in it with her husband Edward on his inspection tours.

Hopkins' travels uncovered a fresh vision of the canoe to paint, since what she saw was different from Back's impression. She got there just in time to provide another lasting original impression of the essential function of the canoe in the Rupert's Land. As this Hopkins painting, Canoe Party Around A Campfire demonstrates, upkeep was constant and a way of life if they were going to use a canoe to travel through the territory. Back too was preoccupied with survival, but the desparate situation was nothing he could fix by simply mending. The lives of Franklin's party depended on his going a great distance to reach help or their lives would be lost. All of them experienced terror from an unforgiving environnent. The latter part of his journey must have filled his mind with Sublime images which he never forgot. When his fellow midshipman Robert Hood died and all their lives were placed in jeopardy, Back became the victor, but his effort to conquer that terrifying Northern region darkened his Canadian landscape with the Sublime.

Hopkins' era, expressed by her picturesque artwork, shows a more settled quality to the Canadian world. Here, a little stitching at the end of the day, which did not even require her to do the

mending, ensured their safety. Since no terror clouded her life experience there, she expressed the images she witnessed as picturesque. Consequently, the canoe decorates her environment as she shows it fulfilling its role in company transport.

Following the Hopkins' departure from Canada, other more efficient, less demanding, means of business transportation would take over where the canoe left off. Today our impressions of the role the canoe played in the history of Rupert's Land are due primarily to accounts published as revised exploration editions. Or we learn of the canoe from studies which delve into archival records on the fur trade, the Admiralty or the use of the canoe. Author Grace Lee Nute wrote about the voyageurs beginning in the 1940's and used Frances Hopkins art to show voyageurs to a generation of people who had no idea who they were. Back's journals and sketches have been published more recently. The interest in Back expresses a wider revival in the records of renowned Admiralty figures from the Barrow era.

The art of Back and Hopkins is important today because it shows us the end of an important era. Before Europeans arrived, the canoe was an efficient means of travel for thousands of years in the Canadian Subarctic. Back and Hopkins' laser focus on the canoe revealed its usefulness to the fur trade and the Admiralty.

Back's vision shows the canoe in the Arctic, where Natives did not use it. The Sublime image of the canoe in Back's art seems to speak of a larger issue; that maybe the canoe, with a structure

designed for the Subarctic, did not belong in the Arctic for a reason. The Sublime net Back is forced to place around the beautiful canoe, shows the Admiralty's attempt to push the limit of this vessel, just as it was pushing all members of the party to do the same. While the forces which nearly destroyed the first Franklin expedition had to do with politics of the fur trade companies, the mighty experiment of taking the canoe to the Arctic, as Back allowed us to bear witness to, succeeded in that most of the party made it back. In an era before photography, Back caught for us the image of the Admiralty attempting to expand the range of the canoe.

In 1823, John Murray published the account of the First Franklin Expedition overland by canoe into the Canadian Arctic. This account is a likely candidate for Beechey's Arctic exploration collection, which his artistic daughter Frances would find particularly intriguing. Back's Sublime canoe, as shown in Canoe, Broaching To in a Gale of Wind at Sunrise, (fig 24) and Expedition Landing in a Storm, 1821 (fig. 25) and Expedition Doubling, Cape Barrow 1821 (fig. 26), would speak volumes to a young Hopkins on the sublime image of the canoe in the north. Works such as these by Back show the canoe nearly engulfed by large, treacherous-looking waves of the Arctic or dwarft by the massive, rock monuments it passes. Yet while Back's canoe looks out of place under such conditions, he also shows it holding its own there too; something a young artist's eye would not miss.

By the time Hopkins arrived in Rupert's Land, the canoe had settled into its rightful place in the fur trade. But this too was a unique impression for her, since this was the last chapter of the canoe's important utility role as a vital mode of transportation across Canada. Other forms of transportation such as the train and the steamship on the larger lakes would push the canoe into quieter streams. Hopkins' art heralded the canoe's final hours before forced retirement and recreational living stole its usefulness in the North.

Our good fortune in having these last images of the canoe may be the result of a young artistic girl's amazement over a book she may have discovered in her home while growing up. The writings were about voyages she would have heard her father and his guests talk about. Nonetheless, discovering artistic renderings of their explorations would be very enlightening to a young painter. Sketches such as Moore's Bay, Polar Sea, showing a strange looking boat on a large, stormy body of water holding the explorer's lives in its cedar ribs, would have left an indelible impression on a young girl.

No wonder Hopkins shows herself looking so nonchalant in her canoe art. She's likely seen canoes before and would know for a fact that people did make it home after riding Arctic waves in a birch bark canoe.

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Appendix B. Map Showing Areas of North America Relevant to the Arctic Expeditions of George Back and F. W. Beechey. http://www.map.freegk.com/canada/canada.php, 23 Aug. 04.

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Appendix A

Arctic Expeditions Relevant to George Back and F.W. Beechey

I. 1818 Expeditions

Spitsbergen or Polar Expedition

Ships: Dorothea

Commander: Captain David Buchan

Trent

Commander: Lieutenant John Franklin

Crew: Among 23 Trent Admiralty crew members are Lieutenant F.W. Beechey and Midshipman Mr. G. Back.

Northwest or Baffin Bay Expeditions

Ships: Isabella

Commander: Captain John Ross

Alexander

Commander: William Edward Parry Lieutenant

Goal: Explore Polar Seas and seek passage between the North Atlantic and the Pacific Ocean through Berings Straits.

II. 1819 - John Franklin's First Overland Expedition

Commander: Lieutenant John Franklin

Crew: Among the Admiralty crew members is Midshipman George Back and Midshipman

Robert Hood. As draughtsmen they sketched and left indelible impressions of the Barren Grounds (subarctic territory near the Arctic Circle) and Arctic coastal landscapes around Coronation Gulf.

Goal: Explore by land, the northern Hudson's Bay and the mouth of the Coppermine River.

III. 1821 Arctic Expedition by Sea

Journey on a Voyage of Discovery from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Ship: Helca

Commander: William Edward Parry

Crew: Among the 18 British Admiralty crew members is Lieutenant F. W. Beechey.

Ship: Griper

Commander: Matthew Liddon

Crew: Lieutenant Henry Parkyus Hoppner - draughtsmen on board.

Goal: Discover Northwest Passage from the Atlantic to Pacific.

IV. Franklin's Second Overland Expedition to the shores of the Polar seas in the years 1825, 1826 and 1827.

Commander: Captain John Franklin

Crew: Among the nine Admiralty crew members on this expedition is Lieutenant George Back.

Goal: To survey the northwestern extremity of America and the coastal region between the MacKenzie and Coppermine River.

V. Arctic Exploration of the Northern Regions of America from the Pacific in the years 1825-1828.

Ship: Blossom

Commander: Captain F.W. Beechey

Goal: To rendezvous with either of two expeditions searching for a Northwest passage from the Pacific side. Parry would be attempting to sail a ship from the east across the Arctic Ocean and Franklin would go overland again this time following the coast west from the Mackenzie River. Beechey and his crew were also expected to take extensive scientific data from South Pacific islands they visited on their voyage to and from the Arctic.

Captain Beechey named Point Barrow[7], the most northeasternly point his expedition reached, after the man he believed was most responsible for the great progress being made in northern exploration; Sir. John Barrow, Secretary to the Admiralty.

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[7] Today Point Barrow, located on the northern most point of Alaska and the United States, functions in a western fashion while keeping its Eskimo heritage alive.

VI. Back's Arctic Land Expedition to the mouth of the Great Fish River and along the Shores of the Arctic Ocean in the years 1833, 1834 and 1835.

Commander: Captain George Back

Goal: First, to reach the Arctic Ocean by way of the Great Fish River and to assist Captain Ross who was believed to be lost. Secondly, to explore the unknown areas of sea coast and undertake prescribed scientific observations.

VII. Back's 1836 Arctic Expedition

Ship: Terror

Commander: Captain George Back

Goal: Continue mapping the northern shores of North America. Back's last venture into the Arctic was less than successful. His ship was locked in the ice until 1837. When they returned to England, the Terror barely made it safely across the Atlantic.

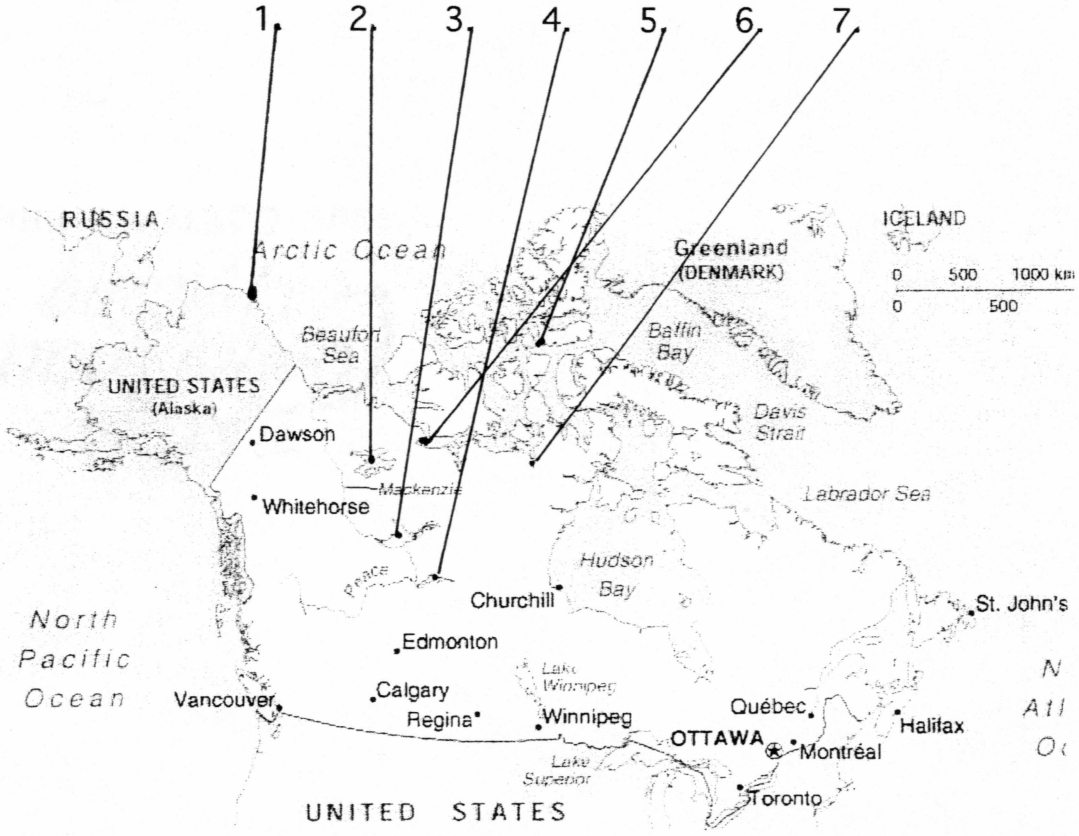
VIII. Conclusion

Following his Terror Expedition, Back lived in London and spent the rest of his life quietly on reserve naval duty. Over time he received promotions and medals for his service in the Navy. Rear Admiral George Back died on June 23, 1878.

Beechey did not return to the Arctic after his Blossom Expedition, yet he continued to participate in scientific interests and naval matters. In 1856, the year he died, he had addressed the Royal Geographical Society and said that the quest for a Northwest Passage was over and that science greatly benefited in "geography, magnetism, botany and climatology" (Gough 49).

Appendix B

Map Showing Areas of North America Relevant to the Arctic Expeditions of George Back and F. W. Beechey



Map web page: http://www.map.freegk.com/canada/canada.php

1. Point Barrow
2. Great Bear Lake
3. Great Slave Lake
4. Lake Athabasca
5. Beechey Island
6. Coronation Gulf and Mouth of the Coppermine River
7. Mouth of the Great Fish or Back River